

The I. W. W. is the ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION of the WORKING CLASS; it has No Political Affiliation and is Controlled by no Political Party

# The Industrial



# Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

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50c. a Year.

## I.W.W. 'RED SPECIAL' OVERALL BRIGADE

On Its Way Through the Continent.—Along the Campfires.—Great Success in Propaganda.—Thousands Listen to the Speakers.—The "Special" Leaving a Red Streak Behind It.—Contributions Liberal.—Gomper's and His Satellites Furious with Rage!

In my last article to the Bulletin, I concluded just as we were ready to get to the railroad yards, to take our "Special" en route to Chicago.

Well, we're in the yards, gathered together at the water tank. In order to know if all are present, we have numbered ourselves. The numbers run from one to nineteen, Mrs. Walsh making twenty. A switchman is seen and he informs us where our "Special car" will be found. The train is late however, and we are delayed a few hours. "Fly Cops" are pretty busy in the yards. They are watching their master's property that some hobo may not break a sacred seal and pile into a car where valuable merchandise is stored.

Two blasts of the locomotive whistle are heard and the train is starting on its journey, and simultaneously nineteen men, all dressed in black overalls and jumpers, black shirts and red ties, with an I. W. W. book in his pocket and an I. W. W. button on his coat, are in a "gentle car" and on our way.

In a short time a glim (lantern) appears and the brakeman jumps into the car. His uniform is skin-deep. He belongs to the B. of R. T., but never heard of the class struggle. He is unsuccessful, however, in the collecting of fares, and we continue our journey.

Our first stop, where we expect to hold a meeting is Centralia, and when about half way there, "our car" is set out. There is only one now left in the train to ride on. It is an oil car, so nineteen men will be found "riding" on that car as soon as the train starts. Being delayed for a few hours again, while the train is being transferred across the ferry, we are hovered around the first campfire toward the westward. At last two short blasts of the whistle are heard, and all are aboard. It is only a short distance to our destination and the train is whirling along at passenger speed. The morning is turning cool and spitting a little rain, but all are determined to stick to the car, when again, appears the brakeman and tells us we cannot ride since daylight has come, but he is informed that we must get to Centralia. He insists we'll get off at the next stop, but we fail to get off, and in a few minutes we arrive at our first stop.

It is early Sunday morning, and we are off to get a cup of coffee, after which we will congregate around the camp fire in the "jungles." The morning is bright and all are sleeping on the jungle grass, with our arms for pillows, and coats for covers.

About noon we are all up and wending our way toward the depot, here we meet Mrs. Walsh and the whole "bunch" congregates. The rubber-necks of the little country city are all stretched on us. Later in the day the "To Night Bells" are distributed and at 8 p. m. we find a good crowd at the park to listen. They all like the songs and close attention is given to the lecturer. The literature sales are fair, the collection fair and the songs well like hot cakes.

We have finished our first propaganda meeting, and taking all in all, it is a grand success. Now, for the next date which is Tacoma. The train committee has ascertained that "our special car" will not leave until 2 a. m., so off to the camp fire again. The time has arrived for departure and we are again on our way. Another brakeman appears and after a conference, he decides to let us ride. A few minutes later he appears again with two large watermelons. We are in an empty coal car, but the train is making passenger time. A long blast of the whistle tells us that we are near Tacoma. Now for a few blocks' walk and we are at the I. W. W. hall. The hills are being distributed and a big meeting is expected. The street is packed and a great meeting is the result. The sale of literature is good,

the collection is fair, and again the songs sell like hot cakes. Four new members are secured for the Tacoma local.

Having finished our work here, we are ready for a start toward Seattle. On arrival in the yards, we find a "train ready." We are off, but on arrival at Meeker Junction, we find a walk in store for us of eight miles, in order to catch a train that will land us in Seattle in time for a propaganda meeting. The eight miles is undergoing repair work, and the Italians are on strike, so you can imagine what a beautiful round we have to "hike" over in the night.

The trip has been made and luckily we strike another train ready to land us in Seattle. We find "our special car," and several hobos are in it. They are telling of the bad "shack" (brakeman) on the train who packs a big gun and makes the "hobo" get. The shack arrives with a big gun. He is a small man, but says in a gruff voice: "Get out of here! Every G—d— one of you," and the strangers in the car all pile out. Three of our bunch step up to him to tell him that we are all union men, and desire to get to Seattle. He is not a union man and again gives the command that we must get off. At this juncture the whole bunch is awakened and told that we must get off and that the shack has a gun. The command is given, "call the roll!" The roll is called, and as they sound their numbers from one to nineteen the brakeman turns white and meekly says: "I did not know this." He piles out and we are on our way. In Seattle we held several good meetings and then departed for the east. We met a very nice train crew apparently, out of Seattle. They claimed to be all union men, but they proved to be cheap dogs of the railroad. Fearing such a large bunch, they telegraphed ahead to Auburn Junction for a force to take us off. When we arrived at the junction we were surrounded by a band of railroad officials—the papers stated there were 25—when we were covered by guns and told to unload. We were marched to jail and held over night. In the morning the writer was separated from the bunch, but finally we were all turned loose. Being separated, we did not learn until evening where each and all were. However, all except the writer had gotten back to Seattle, and secured the services of Attorney Brown, to take up the case, should it become necessary. It was not necessary. The boys held a street meeting in Seattle, and part started from there for Spokane, over one road, and the rest over another road.

We continued our work of propaganda without missing a single date, and all re-united at Spokane, where we held several good meetings. Leaving Spokane, we took in Sandpoint, Idaho, and then rambled into Missoula, Montana, where we had some of the best meetings of all the places along the route.

We put the "Starvation Army" on the bum, and packed the streets from one side to the other. The literature sales were good, the collections good, and the red cards containing the songs, sold like hot cakes.

At Missoula, Mont., we have completed two full weeks' work on the road. We left Portland with 20 members. We lost 4 of them, but we picked up one at Seattle, and two at Spokane, so our industrial band is practically the same as when we started.

There are "Malligan Bunches" all along the road. We had scarcely gotten out of the city limits of Portland, when we saw the camp fire of the "hobo" along the road, and we have never, as yet, been out of sight of those camp fires. In fact, the further east we get, the more numerous appear to be the "hobo." On investigation, we find that the "Malligan Bunch" is not composed of pick and shovel artists alone, but that all kinds of tradesmen can be found among them.

There is still three weeks between us and the Fourth Annual Convention, and we expect to be in Chicago by that

time. So far we have made every place on schedule time, and we hope to keep up the record.

The receipts from the sale of literature and collections for the first week, were \$39.02, and the second week was \$33.66, a total of \$72.68. Of course, do not imagine that this is all profit, for its necessary to buy a passenger ticket for the wife of the writer, and as we are carrying 160 pounds of excess baggage—literature—these receipts are eaten into at a lively rate.

This may not be a "Red Special," but it is leaving a red streak behind it. All fellow workers can get a meal at our special car—the jungles—free of charge, many a poor, hungry devil has been fed by the boys around the camp fires.

In the above money of literature and collections, the song sales are not counted. The boys in the bunch have that money to themselves. It runs from two or three dollars to eleven dollars per night.

It is time for another street meeting, and so I must close to join the revolutionary forces on the street, who are now congregating, after a big feed in the jungles.

Yours for the I. W. W.,  
J. H. WALSH,  
National Organizer.

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On the day when this paper went to press we received by one of the I. W. W. wire operators, the interesting news that Sam Gompers had received regular reports from his lieutenants, and the capitalist masters, started when seeing the large masses in every town echo the touring industrial unionists, had appealed to the "highest Tribunal" in the labor movement to hurl a thunderbolt against the transcontinental travelers.

So the "grand old man," sweating with indignation, set down to prepare a leading editorial for the next issue of the American Federationist, the personal organ of Sam Gompers and the boycotted brewery proprietors of New Orleans. We are in a position, thanks to the well regulated news-report system established by the Industrial Workers of the World, to quote a few passages from the advance copy furnished us.

Here it goes:

Here are the Industrial Workers of the World, the buccannier organization, dead and buried many times, trying to use the growing support for the A. F. of L. candidate for President, Hon. William Jennings Bryan, and the great masses that congregate to hear the latest message of labor's rights and duties to spread their contaminating dope of discontent,—we see them, hundreds strong, traveling from city to city,—who pays their railway fare, who their bills of fare, who supports them, where comes the money from? From the capitalists, of course! Not this alone, but the railway corporations even give them gratis and free of charge the Pullman sleepers to travel all over the continent,—these industrial unionists tell you that they can show a list of contributors, but I, Sam Gompers, know it from good authority, indisputable and incontrovertible, that the capitalists are furnishing these means to send the carriers of the disease of discontent over the country. They are riding in cars, furnished by the railway corporations, while your President of the American Federation of Labor must pay his hard earned money for the trips, and for the berths and meals in the Pullmans. And all this is done to "stop the scabbing of one set of workers against another." . . . Here Sam's pen slipped, the wire operator was called away, but Samuel went to bed satisfied that that article will kill the Industrial Workers of the World once more.

### PROPAGANDA NOTES

Local No. 55, Textile Workers, Fall River, Mass., have adopted the sure, practical and constructive method of the New Bedford locals, re-organizing and educating their Fellow Workers. As a result a branch of Portuguese Textile Workers has been organized and more will follow, so we are informed. The practical application of I. W. W. teachings have won out against theoretical excursions into the realm of the sweet by-and-by.

### THE UNION'S EMBLEM.

BY CLIFF HUGHES.  
(With apologies to the Red Flag.)  
Our Union's Emblem's deepest red,  
'Twas born from out the workers' dread;  
In Chicago's walls three years ago  
The Industrial Workers saw the dawn.

### CHORUS.

Then raise the Starry Emblem high,  
The sturdy German's in the fight;  
To cringe beneath the bosses' smile  
Though onwards sinch and traitors sneer,  
We'll keep this Emblem shining here.

Look 'round! the Frenchman says aye,  
The sturdy German's in the fight;  
In Russia's land its news is spread,  
All o'er the world it soon will spread.

'Twas reared against Colorado's might;  
In Haywood's trial it led the fight;  
To ransack him the tyrant's ban  
We'll keep our motto in the van.

It suits today the slave so meek  
Who wishes new his job to keep,  
To crouch beneath the bosses' smile  
And swallow all their dirty gulls.

And we'll unite as workers all,  
And bear it onward till we fall;  
Come injunctions long, or dungeons grim,  
This Emblem's Stars they ne'er shall dim.

### NOW OR NEVER.

Fellow Workers! Note the total at the bottom of the contribution list. The figures speak for themselves.

To make it plain we need no less than \$1,000 in cold cash within the next four weeks. We need this sum and there is no way of getting around it. It's up to you to make good if you are really in earnest or keeping up the work the I. W. W. has started out to do.

"Now or Never," is not used as a catch phrase, by any means. It's bitter earnest, stern necessity and absolute compulsion on the part of the General Headquarters to make this appeal to the membership.

We have done the best, are willing to continue, but we must have your co-operation. We have spoken in plain words from time to time. Now is your turn to speak in the language of dollars.

Morris Rafter	50
Herman Richter	50
J. Murray	50
Paul Golditz	1.00
Jack Gabbert	2.00
S. L. Beatty	1.00
John Daily	1.00
John Fairservice	1.00
Ed. Payment	1.00
W. Wilcox	1.00
Pat. Pearson	1.00
P. S. Dyceson	1.10
Ed. Bergfors	.25
E. J. Holmes	1.00
A. Langquist	1.00
J. Lindkirt	1.00
J. Olson	1.00
John Fairservice	1.00
J. Frankowski	.50
J. Sokolowsky	.50
R. Rosewsky	.25
Respondowsky	.05
Starkowsky	.10
A. Szmusak	.10
A. Klnszowitz	.15
J. Nowisky	.10
Julius Peterson	.10
C. H. Schwartz	.10
J. E. Lafferty	.10
M. Aul	.10

Total \$18.70

Fellow Workers Daily, Beatty and Fairservice, former members of local No. 95 of New York, are visiting Headquarters regularly. They are wise as to the situation confronting us at this time. No long distance prevents them from forming a wrong conclusion regarding the financial outlook.

Do you know how the argument runs that those Fellow Workers are putting up? Look at the contribution list. Put me down for another "Bose" is the first thing they say.

And this is not all, out of their pay envelope, another bill is taken and loaned to the Organization until other members have awakened and dig in and dig up to the best of their ability. All others get wise and do your share.

## PAST FIFTY YEARS SNOW PROGRESS

By Paul Turner, in Name Industrial Worker (when editor).

Fifty years ago Wendell Phillips, addressing the Woman's Rights Convention in New York City, said: "If this experiment of self government is to succeed, it is to succeed by some saving element introduced into the politics of the present day. You know this: Your Websters, your Clays, your Calhouns, your Douglasses, however intellectually able they may have been, have never dared, or cared, to touch that moral element of our national life. Either the shallow and heartless trade of politics had eaten out their own moral being, or they feared to enter the unknown of lefty right and wrong."

"Neither of these great names has linked its fame with one great moral question of the day. They deal with money questions, with tariff, with parties, with state law, and if, by any chance, they touch the slave question, it is only like Jewish hucksters trading in the relics of saints. The reformers—the fanatics, as we are called—are the only ones who have innured social and moral questions. I risk nothing when I say that the anti-slavery discussion of the last twenty years has been the salt of this nation; it has actually kept alive and whole some. Without it our politics would have sunk beyond even contempt. So with this question. It stirs the deepest sympathy; it appeals to the highest moral sense; it onwraps within itself the greatest moral issues."

At the time Phillips spoke these words, now universally conceded to have been true, he was hooted and jeered, ridiculed and threatened, and the meeting, packed by pro-slavery hirelings, came near ending in a riot. The whole country, North and South, was dominated by the slave owner.

In the slave states this power was insolent, brutal and defiant. It ruled with the lash. Its code of ethics could be read in the tracks of its bloodhounds. In the so-called free states it ruled by threat and intimidation. Northern tradesmen were infinitely cowardly. "In its presence," again quoting Phillips, "the North knelt and whispered."

The whole country was in the grasp of this heartless and corrupt power—Chattel Slavery.

The President was its tool, the Supreme Court its vassals, and Senators and Representatives its lackeys, politicians, editors and preachers its retainers and mercenaries, the working class and the country at large its private estate.

The Pierces, Buchanans, Websters, Clays, Calhouns, and Douglasses were the political chattels of the slave owners. They were of exalted rank in the slave administration, known as statesmen and honored above all others by the cowardice and venality of that degenerate age. When history is rightly written and men and events are justly judged they will be relegated to oblivion, while Phillips, Garrison, Parker and other irreproachable agitators and "undesirable citizens" will replace them as the sturdy pioneers and the ideal heroes of an enlightened age.

With but the change of names—the indictment of the chattel slave power and its political tools by Phillips above quoted applies perfectly to the wage-slave power which rules the country today. For Webster, Clay, Calhoun, and Douglass, the leading statesmen and politicians under the regime of wage slavery, and its most eminent and ignominious mercenaries, substitute the name of Taft, Root, Hearst and Bryan, and the analogy is complete. Of the four first named three were presidential aspirants and basely surrendered to the slave owners to secure their support. They all died of disappointment, and humiliated, Webster most of all.

Of the four last named all are presidential candidates and they will very likely share a similar fate, Bryan most certainly and most completely of all. The position of Bryan is strikingly analogous to that of Webster half a century ago. The great "expounder" was acrimoniously opposed to chattel slavery

and posed as the champion of popular freedom—but he wanted to be president and this low ambition for personal aggrandizement cost him his honor, his self-respect and his life.

The great "commener" of today is nominally opposed to wage slavery and poses as the friend of the common people—but he also wants to become president, and he will as inevitably fall for the same reason and with the same result.

The great struggle half a century ago was between the abolitionists and the slave holders. Those who attempted to occupy a neutral position were forced to the one side or the other, or sank into oblivion. The struggle today is between the wage slaves who are fighting for freedom and their capitalist masters who are fighting to keep them in subjection. There is no half way ground.

Lincoln said fifty years ago that the country could not exist half slave and half free, that it must become wholly slave, or wholly free; and the same incontrovertible fact confronts the nation today. The Socialist movement, expressing the material interests, the intellectual convictions and moral aspirations of the working class, is the abolition movement of the present day, infinitely greater than its prototype of two score and a half years ago.

The capitalist administration of Theodore Roosevelt is mortgaged body and soul to the industrial slave masters, as was that of Franklin Pierce to the chattel slave owners in the middle of the last century.

The agitators and revolutionists, Phillips called them, were hated and hounded then as they are now, and as they will be until slavery in every form is free.

The despotism reared by capital must grapple with and overthrow by means of industrial and political agitation and organization. In the coming battle we will have the opportunity to strike the enemy the first decisive blow. The past has been preliminary; it has furnished the present with the equipment with which to conquer the future.

Revolution is in the air! Pity the poor wretch who does not feel it throbbing in his heart, burn in his bosom, grow in his eyes and leap in his veins!

He is a dead soul in living fetters. Pity the human vassal who is proud of his master and boasts his own degeneracy, but smite without mercy the system that debases him.

How glorious to hear the trumpet call of the Social Revolution! To ears attuned its notes are vibrant enthusiasm and a message fresh from the fountain of inspiration.

Every liberty loving being should welcome the issue, eager for the fray. Fling to strike the blow at capitalist misrule and wage slavery.

As and grand old Swinton said: "Give 'em hell! Give 'em hell!" Waste no time on the one question, the tariff and other weather beaten and moth eaten adjuncts of capitalism. Get down to bedrock.

Deal with causes and leave effects to take care of themselves. Wheel into line under the banner of the social revolution. It alone symbolizes a living issue; it alone is worth a decent man's fighting for.

Long enough have you listened to the stuffed prophets of profit. They have put you where you are. Listen now to the call of your own class; to the voice of revolution. They will put you where you ought to be.

Stop your blithering and back biting; your quibbling and petty contentions. The battlefield is before us. The enemy is upon it.

Let us unite and fight. "Divide the thunder into single tones and it becomes a lullaby for children; but pour it forth in one quick peal, and the royal sound shall shake the heavens."

What incentive is there to join us, do you ask? Magnificent! we can assure you—as Garibaldi said in answering the same question: "We can assure you poverty, hardship, battles, wounds and—VICTORY!"

# The Industrial Union Bulletin

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## ON THE ADVANCE.

A year ago when I visited Philadelphia, there was no I. W. W. in existence and my weeks' agitation found only about twelve bona fide, but scattered advocates of industrial unionism. Today thru the hard work and determined efforts on the part of these few unaided and encouraged, by passing organizers and speakers, there is a thriving movement in Philadelphia, now establishing its own headquarters, and if the Quaker City has not its quota of representatives at the convention this year, it can only be blamed on the capitalist class and their panic.

This year my two weeks' sojourn in Philadelphia started out under rather inauspicious circumstances, as the facts already forwarded to the Bulletin, concerning the Bakery Workers, will amply show. However, once we were rid of Mr. I. Roth and his attempts to make our organization a cloak for his label-selling and scab-furnishing schemes for the co-ops, our general agitation meetings were highly successful. The first week we held three open-air meetings, the commencing August 20th, on the City Hall Plaza. An "Ancient Order of Hibernian" Convention was going on that week in Philadelphia, and the celebration on this evening took the form of an Irish parade, from which we were able to extract an excellent crowd of about 300 people, in spite of the attempts of the North American to conceal our identity by a merger little five-line announcement tucked away in an inconspicuous corner. The convention had declared for Home Rule for Ireland, while we declared for Home Rule for the United States, by the people of the U. S., the working-class, and for two hours industrial unionism as the means of organizing to bring this about was expounded by Fellow Worker McAlvey and myself. The meeting was almost over and I had gone through the crowd for Bulletin subscriptions when some gentleman wanted a question answered. When I took the stand again the questions came thick and fast, and an entirely new crowd, even larger than the first, collected, so I had the unique experience of a double meeting. Some of the questions were very learned, as for instance, one of a pompous old gentleman who asked "Isn't it a fact that the machine does the work today, not the working-class?" and to whom my polite answer, "Why then doesn't the capitalist put the machine over in the corner and let it turn out wealth?" was very exasperating, for he roared out like a bull, "What do you people, you Socialists, want anyhow? Got free schools, free speech, free land?" (at this a single taxer made a wild dash at him through the crowd and tackled him to prove it) "right to choose an occupation, everything, and then you kick!" I. W. W. man's place, and we put it out of the crowd, who howled with delight when I reminded him as he went, that we had free hospitals and workhouses and jails and poorhouses for the working-class, likewise. The man who was worried about immigrant labor, the man who wants to know how you are going to tell how much each one deserves (strange how solicitous they are for absolute justice, under the co-operative commonwealth, though the capitalist, getting four-fifths of their product doesn't worry them a bit today!), the man who wants to know do we advocate confiscation, all were there in force and the result of the cross firings were five subs for the Bulletin gathered in and many copies of Horve's Anti-patriotism and other pamphlets sold.

We followed this up by another large meeting at 4th Street and Lancaster Avenue, on Saturday, Aug. 22d, at which again we were able to spread many copies of "Anti-patriotism" and even some copies of Marx's "Value, Price and Profit" as a result of an argument over abstract economics on both evenings with gentlemen who could not understand why when labor received its wage, that was not its full product. There were but few questions asked, although we had made clear attacks on the A. F. of L. form of unionism, its methods as well, its leaders and their policies, in fact the working-class anti-

fight, secured the right of the floor for me, although one of the opponents had made the crushing argument, "She's a fanatic and besides isn't much of a speaker." The union listened very attentively for about forty-five minutes and applauded several radical utterances, although they were inclined to be more apathetic to the bulk of the talk. I had been given a tip that Gompers' proposition to endorse "our friends" (namely, the Democratic Party), was on the order of business for discussion, yet when I asked them how they, with the bulk of their men out of work, were interested in a possible use of the injunction by the employer, one way or the other, since no work certainly means no strike, they applauded very heartily. If we could use the injunction to get work, we might be interested in it, otherwise this burning issue doesn't even kindle a spark of interest in our hearts or brains. I understand they tabled Gompers' proposition, after we left. I had heard Mr. Haber, President of Carpenters and Joiners' International Brotherhood, speak during the open-shop struggle in Duluth, Minn., last January, and some of the gems of unionism he had let forth on an unimpeachable audience of Superior, Wis., were as follows:

"Open-shop fights disturb the harmony between employer and employee. We always advise peace and harmony."

"Our motto: A fair day's wage for a fair day's work."

"Union men are good American citizens, are willing to take guns and defend their country."

The readers of the Bulletin may readily understand how appropriate this all was upon which to build a talk before this local union.

After briefly outlining for them the class-struggle, I showed them how Mr. Haber's first utterance was the exact opposite of the truth, that the great virtue of the open-shop fight was the lesson of the class-conflict it fought the workers by disturbing "the harmony between employer and employee." Then I discussed how the organization of the Building Trades is not in line with capitalist industry and how we must be organized to "take and hold" as well as administer industry in our own interests, dwelling on the evils of the contract system as well as prohibition dues and initiation fees which, as Frederick Engels put it, "Means the breeding by every such union of its own blacklegs." Mr. Haber's "defense of our country" claim came in for its own drubbing for certainly if we had a country, we might be asked to defend it, but we are not interested in shooting down workmen of foreign lands in wars, or heme workmen in labor conflicts, to defend the property class in their possession of their country. A gun in the hand of a working man to defend "his" country, is a gun against his own class, as Gustave Herve well points out in his splendid address on "Anti-patriotism." At the conclusion of the talk, the union passed a rising vote of thanks and we industrial unionists departed, satisfied that we had reached some receptive minds that would keep the ball a-rolling. The representative of this union, lest we forget, however, was the one in Philadelphia who protested against I. W. W. men being allowed to sit at the Unemployed Conference and was instrumental in having them barred out. We have reached the rank and file, in spite of him. Let us hope they will soon be satisfied that a "fair day's wage" is nothing less than the whole product.

The weather man is not yet an I. W. W. man, consequently Tuesday and Wednesday were both days of pouring rain, which prevented any outdoor activity and thus we were unable to hold our two scheduled meetings.

Thursday night saw us out again at the old stand and by this time a bundle of Bulletin and Handbooks No. 1 and No. 2, had arrived, so we had a good supply of "Petibone dope." After a two hours' speech, by Fellow Worker Lutherman and myself, many questions were asked, some on economics by the over-present single taxers which enabled us to sell several copies of "Value, Price and Profit," by Marx, "Socialism, from Utopia to Science," by Engels and others along this line. There was a poor workingman present who was afraid the working-class never would be able to do anything for themselves. "They are not intelligent enough," and never have done anything in all history.

Of course they never have done anything through all history, except work, and make revolutions for other classes, as witness the French Revolution, but history never yet had so ripe a time for a proletarian revolution, in fact all the forces of modern industrial evolution are forcing it upon us, whether we like it or not. The man who doesn't see anything wrong with things, as they are has not touched the pulse of

the American people, for they instinctively feel as the poet says: "While earth producer free and fair, the golden waving corn, And fragrant fruits perfume the air, And fleecy flocks are shorn, While thousands cry with aching heads The never-ending song, we starve, we die, Oh, give us bread, There must be something wrong."

And the American working-class are going to make a revolution, intelligent or otherwise. It is for us to make it one of intelligence and organization.

Two more meetings sufficed to bring our work to a close. Saturday and Sunday afternoon meetings sold all the literature from headquarters and every scrap of literature bearing on the subject, we could lay our hands on, besides. I doubt not but we could have sold twice as much if we had been supplied as on Sunday afternoon on the City Hall Plaza, every book was sold out before I left the stand. The sales of these two occasions alone, must have amounted to five dollars a meeting. Two hours on both days, Fellow Worker Anton and myself talked on Industrial Unionism and answered questions from crowds of at least 400 people and I felt certain as I left Philadelphia, that the historical little Independence Hall will look down on stirring times again in that city. They have a record behind them in Philadelphia to live up to, some of the pictures in Independence Hall would shame a workingman who had not the manhood to fight for his class. Thomas Paine, who fought hard in two revolutions, French and American, said "where liberty is not, there is my home," and he seems almost to look down reproachfully on passers-by who do not recognize even yet the truth of the saying, nor show Paine's spirit to remedy such a shameful state.

His famous definition of country, "The world is my country, mankind are my countrymen," was little more than sentiment in his time and could not be otherwise, today it has a practical working basis, for an international capitalist class has wiped out all national boundaries and made of the world one great system of industry. It is up to us to take the next step—and Philadelphia is in the vanguard to do its share—that labor may "take and hold" everything they need to live.

Fellow Workers Irwin, McClure, Lutherman, Anton, Mullen, Davis and others are to be commended for the assistance they rendered to make these meetings successful.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

## PURPOSES AND METHODS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

The old kind of unions, or craft unions, directly opposite to the Industrial Workers of the World, proceeded on the assumption that they, by limiting the number in the union in any craft, could monopolize the jobs, thus attain their much desired end of always having jobs for their members, and that by monopolizing jobs they could hold up and increase wages by preventing anyone outside of the union taking a job for less, because—they assumed—they could prevent him taking a job at all—they made no attempt to monopolize labor-power, except in some instances where they attempted to limit apprentices, and the effect of which the modern trade-schools have completely nullified—but they reckoned without two, which to ignore makes inevitable the failure of any labor organization: these workers originally left out of the union, who must work or starve, and if not supported by the union, must scab it on that union; and the progressive improvement of machinery which throws ever greater and greater numbers of their own members out of employment, for they generally provide no means of support except in case of strike, and who are therefore compelled, sooner or later, to scab it on their own union. Anyway, monopolizing the jobs simply makes commodities of them (or rather, brings out their commodity character) placing them under the laws that govern all commodities, and as a workman must have a job to live, he must, under monopoly conditions, pay a greater price for it; must give a greater portion of the product for the opportunity to labor. To attempt to monopolize jobs without monopolizing the labor-power that is able and willing to do these jobs is an absurdity.

On the other hand, the Industrial Workers of the World understand that labor-power is a commodity, and, like all other commodities, subject to the law of supply and demand—a small supply and large demand meaning large price, and vice versa—and that its value is equal to the amount of social labor necessary to produce it (e. g. the amount of social labor necessary to produce the food, clothing and shelter, etc., to keep the laborer at the standard of life then in vogue among the laborers). Then, as we cannot control the demand for labor-power, that being equal to the necessities of society at that given stage of civilization, the only way to prevent its price—wages—from going

down or raise its price, or even compel the employment of all of it, is by monopolizing it and distributing the labor-time over the whole mass of the working-class; thus, by monopoly preventing competition, raising the standard of living of the workers, thereby raising the value of labor-power by making the amount of social labor necessary to produce the labor-power of society include even a greater amount of the total product of the labor of society, until it includes it all and the useless, non-producing classes are eliminated. That in doing this the working-class must be so trained that the industries can be operated and extended without the intervention of the non-producers.

Thus we see that the I. W. W. proceeds not on the supposition that we can monopolize jobs that we do not own by monopolizing the laborers at present engaged in those jobs, that the owners of those jobs can take these jobs away from at any time; and by controlling the only productive commodity of society have the universal demand, and through it society, completely at its mercy, hence completely dominating society and establishing its own order.

New in monopolizing an absolutely necessary commodity, the demand being approximately constant, the price will depend exactly on the amount of it we have monopolized; the greater the amount of it we have monopolized the greater will be the price of the whole lot, therefore wages will rise exactly in proportion to the number of laborers we organize and prevent competition among. When any two workmen agree not to compete for a job, the tendency is to raise the wages of the whole working-class of the world.

Therefore we must organize the workers where they work, for there and there alone can their immediate interests and ultimate aim harmonize and prevent division, factional fights, and ultimate and certain disruption. There and there alone can the only desires that all men have in common, the desires for less work and more pay and freedom from dictation and personal domination be depended on to keep them striving for the same end; or, interpreted into Bourgeois ideology, can "freedom" and "necessity" bring about the revolution. There and there alone can institutions be built up to form a free society.

CHARLES SCURLOCK,  
Sept. 1st, 1908. Seattle, Wash.

## AS TO ORGANIZING THE UNEMPLOYED.

Could I have a little space to show why I think all I. W. W. Locals, should endorse the suggestions of National Organizer Walsh, and organize the unemployed.

I have recently had an opportunity to observe at first hand, the countless thousands of our fellow workers, who are moving from place to place seeking the elusive job, existing under conditions that are deplorable. Traveling in gripes of 2, 3 or 6 they are absolutely at the mercy of every boodling constable, deputy sheriff and marshal in the country, who vag them, put them on chain gangs, or club them out of town.

They come in for a lot of abuse from inhuman train crews. To knock a "hobo" off a fast moving train is sport for some of these slaves, with capitalistic minds.

How well the masters know how to use them for a club, can be seen by observing the condition of the employed gangs doing the work that can not be postponed here and there along the tracks.

If a worker dares to kick or is a second too long straightening his back, he is immediately canned, as the foreman knows, he can fill his place by sending to the employment shark in the city.

It is useless to talk organization to those who are working, as they know they cannot hope to better their condition as long as the tracks are black with men that the lash hanger has made desperate.

If the unemployed were organized, and those now at work knew they would not act as strike breakers, they would be in a position to rebel against the damnable conditions they now work under and they could be more easily organized.

There have been mass meetings held in various cities to do something for the unemployed. They were useless, as they were but advertising schemes for the individuals or political parties that foisted them. The A. F. of L. has abundantly proven its utter inability to cope with the present crisis.

Is it not the plain duty of the I. W. W. to do something for this vast army. The expense would be trifling. They could be issued books, with "Out of Work" stamps, to be paid up when they are able. The masters would have to look long and hard to find an excuse to attack an army of this kind, as they would only be exercising their constitutional right in going from place

to place, or state to state, in search of work.

Train riding, without going through the formality of purchasing a ticket, is according to law, but a misdemeanor, and as the jails and work-houses are already filled to overflowing, what could they do? In '94, labor unions, co-ops, societies, and public opinion generally was strongly against the attitude of certain officials, that suggested meeting "Corey's Army" with the militia.

To deliberately fire on an unarmed body of working men, committing no crimes and who are willing to work if the state will furnish it, is something I believe the state would not care to do just now.

If they remain unorganized the state will soon begin preparations to use their labor power free gratis, building roads, etc., by vagging them as John D. suggested to the officials of a Southern State.

By organizing the very forces of their numbers would compel whatever community they were in, to feed them. Tiring of these communities would petition the state for relief, and the state would either have to start something, it could not finish, or put them to work at living wages.

An organizer of the proven ability of Walsh, is the man to start a movement of this kind. A large percentage of the slaves on the Pacific Coast know more or less about Industrial Unionism, and it would be so blind, unthinking, shrieking mob, but members of our own class, that know not which way to turn for relief. What has the unemployed or I. W. W. to lose by this action?

The masters by every method that money and ingenuity could conceive of, have tried to disrupt from the beginning both from within and without.

The result is a more militant, clear and determined organization than ever, with weaklings, hair splitters, and disrupters, relegated to the rear, or dumped overboard. Let us by all means do what we can for our own members, and the other members of our class that are suffering because of their ignorance.

JOHN WILEY.  
San Francisco, Cal.

## GOOD HINTS FOR PROPAGANDA WORK.

Here's how a good job was done: Secretary Warren Blettner of Cincinnati gives a brief account of how a certain class of workers who, under the lash of corporations' despotism, can be reached, and their attention attracted. Writes he:

"You know that the street car workers of Cincinnati are compelled to make a sworn statement before taking the job that they will not join an organization which might antagonize the Traction Company, and as a rule the street car workers are so cowed and timid that they would not dare talk unionism, and they are very hard to reach with literature, for fear that a spotter would see it and report them immediately. But where there is a will there is a way! We put the leaflets, 'Address to Street Car Workers,' in a sealed envelope and fixed a date and an hour when most cars would be running; then we elected committees of two, and stationed them wherever best to reach the car, some at the end of the line, some at railroad crossings where all cars have to stop. Then when the hour came we took them by storm and in that way reached every motorman and conductor. At the meeting following the distribution of these leaflets the committees reported that with the exception of a few who suspected what we were doing and would not accept the envelope, the work was very successful. 'Other locals that never gave this a thought or trial before should benefit from our experience.'"

## NOTICE TO ALL LOCALS.

We have thousands of Preston and Smith leaflets at headquarters, eagerly waiting for a chance to be placed in the hands of Wage Workers. Order them at once. Just a tip that our stock of handbooks is by no means exhausted. Books stacked up against the wall are not serving their intended purpose. Get them out where they belong and don't be so slow about it, either. Finish handbooks just arrived. Go to work! Don't linger in the corners of your headquarters.

## PRESTON AND SMITH DEFENSE FUND.

Fellow Workers Pat. King contributes \$2.00 and P. J. Duffy \$1.00 towards meeting the expenses of liberating our comrades. Both are from Bates, Mont., and promise more help from the Smelter Town.

Good boys; it makes no difference to them whether it's a high officer of the union or just a plain private in the ranks that's in trouble as a result of their activity for the organization.

An injury to one is the concern of all should be applied without distinction as to the position a member holds in the union.

## IS IT TO BE A REPETITION OF MONTJUEH?

A few years ago the advocates of working-class organizations on the industrial field clashed in heated arguments with the purely parliamentary Socialists in Spain. The Federation of Spanish workers started to organize in the industrial centers, especially in Bilbao among the miners, and in Barcelona, among the workers in the building industry. I. Iglesias, the spokesman for the parliamentarians, had no other argument to offer, but to throw constancy, in print and by words, the epithets "dynamiters," "bombthrowers," against the Industrial Unionists.

A bomb was hurled one day in a big crowd gathered to witness a procession in Barcelona. Immediately 34 members of the working-class were seized, and thrown into the dungeons of Montjuich. I. Iglesias continued to hurl his epithets "dynamiters" against those who had advocated the organization of the economic forces of the workers of Spain. "Dynamiters" was the accusation thrown against the men penned up in Montjuich, and under the cries of a subsidized press the henchmen subjected the imprisoned workers to the most cruel tortures. Only after the prison doors were opened five years later did an amazed world learn that atrocities had been committed against the "dynamiters." In the prosecution of these men the writings of I. Iglesias, the parliamentarian socialist, were used as evidence to show that these dynamiters, as termed by Iglesias, were advocating "bomb-throwing" and deserved the punishment meted out to them. Under the pangs of the torture inflicted, eight of the imprisoned went incurably insane, twelve were crippled for life, and four of them died in the dungeons.

Iglesias in the interval had gone as far as to denounce these martyrs in the socialist press of Europe, and only when the first inkings of the appalling atrocities leaked out, a Bourgeois paper of France started a Campaign of exposure, followed by the "Voice du Peuple," while Iglesias continued his boasts of "dynamiters" until an enlightened world learned the full truth. Today the workmen of Spain are almost a unit in denouncing Iglesias as a tool of the capitalist class, whose work more than anything else gave the capitalists of Spain the pretext of treating these innocent industrial unionists as "bomb-throwers," and "dynamiters." What is the sequel of this story?

Read in the Daily People of New York City, and compare the terms and expressions; look further back and hear the advocates of industrial I. W. W., being denounced as "veiled dynamiters." Consider the fact that the capitalist press at over the country, wherever the I. W. W. starts its propaganda, denounces the I. W. W. advocates as "dynamiters," forget not that the I. W. W. rejects such accusations at every opportunity, and advocates physical force measures only when there is no other choice, but such weapons;—and after taking all this into consideration, you will logically come to the conclusion that, "another Iglesias is preparing for another Montjuich in America!" Industrial Workers, be on your guard, there is no other way to react to the insinuations of the editor of the Daily People, than to give to the workers, to the members and supporters of the Industrial Workers of the World the story of the "Outrage of Montjuich and the part that Iglesias played in the crime against the working-class organization of Spain."

Here is the latest editorial we have referred to:

"If 'Organizer J. H. Walsh' of the I. W. W., is correctly reported by the Spokane, Wash., 'Evening Chronicle' of August 25, that 'we are anxious to keep out all Democrats, Republicans, Socialist and Socialist Labor Party men,' and if the gentleman correctly represents the views of the organization, then only Prohibitionists and Independence Party men, besides dynamiters, who also claim for their special activity a political character, will be left. An interesting aggregation."—Daily People, Sept. 4, 1908. The italics are ours.

## THE WORKING-CLASS SPEAKS.

"WHEREAS, M. R. Preston and J. Smith, of Nevada, are forcibly detained in the Nevada State Penitentiary, as a result of their faithful service to the cause of the working class; and

WHEREAS, we realize that plotting is a function that is essential to the maintenance of labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, we realize that Smith and Preston were convicted by a Bourgeois-minded court and jury of a crime of which these labor representatives were innocent;

THEREFORE, Be it Resolved, That the Socialist Party of the State of California in convention assembled pledge itself to do all in its power to swing open the prison gates and allow Smith and Preston to assume once more their position in the advancing army of the class-conscious proletariat."

At the State convention of the So-

cialist Party of the State of California, held August 30th, in the city of San Francisco, the above resolution was adopted, dealing with the conspiracy against Preston and Smith. Fellow Worker George Speed was invited to address the convention and explain what occurred at Goldfield, during the reign of terror, inaugurated by the mineowners' association. Speed did well in his short speech and the delegates were satisfied that it was necessary for thinking contributionists to emphatically protest against the unjust imprisonment of Preston and Smith.

Delegate N. L. Griest made a forcible speech in which he said that if the convention failed to adopt such a resolution it was rank cowardice. Continuing he said: "We feel overjoyed when we hear that some brave revolutionary hurls a bomb and expels from the world some wretched tyrant in far away Russia. We are elated, and we should be! But when a man like Preston kills, in self-defense, a brute that has cheated a working girl out of her just wages, we want to be careful and we want to know the truth and we want to do lots of things that belie our claims as revolutionists." Delegate D. Milder introduced the resolution and he spoke heartily and ably in support of it.

When the vote was taken, out of 87 delegates present, only 1 voted against the resolution. That speaks well for the spirit that is in the ascendency in the Socialist Party of California.

—A Watcher.

Indeed, this speaks well for the Socialist Party of California. This act is a forecast of coming events.

When unity of purpose, unity in thoughts can be established on one issue like this, there is hope that the same unity can be firmly assured on all other issues of interest to the working-class.

The Socialist Party of California has gone on record; let us hope and work that all workers throughout the country who call themselves revolutionists, will join in the optimistic demand.

That M. Preston and J. Smith must be set free!—(Editor).

## MORE UNION SCABBERY.

The following clippings from the Boston Post, furnish further evidence that the pure and simple union cannot unite the workers upon the economic field. The first clipping is from the Post of July 29:

"Engineers Who Quit Work Must Fight Their Battle Alone.

There will be no strike of the marine firemen employed on the East Boston ferries.

This was decided last night at a meeting of the Firemen's Union in the Wells Memorial building.

This means that the ferryboat engineers, who went on strike yesterday because the city had decided not to pay them their wages during their vacations, will have to fight their battle alone.

A representative of the marine engineers waited on Firemen's Union 222 at its meeting last night and requested the union call out on strike this morning its members who work on the ferries.

The Firemen's Union took the matter up and discovered that according to the constitution of the International Firemen's Union the local union members cannot strike without first securing the endorsement of the international.

"We have not agreed at any time to strike," said Business Agent Patrick F. Sheehan of Union 242 to a Post reporter after the meeting.

George C. Connors, business agent of the Engineers' Union, was the representative of that body who waited upon the Firemen's Union at last night's meeting.

The rules of the Firemen's Union do not permit its members to go out on a sympathetic strike, it is declared. This means of course that the firemen will remain at work anyway. With the firemen at work and the places of the striking engineers filled the prospects for success of the engineers' strike are not considered promising."

Just think of it, fellow workers. An organization, claiming to be a union, organized for mutual protection, when a sister union has gone out on strike to enforce its demands, refuses to aid it in any way, but remains at work in harmony with the "scabs," and will not come out on strike with their fellow workers because it was discovered that according to the constitution of the International Firemen's Union the local union members cannot strike without first securing the endorsement of the international.

You may say, "Well, what of that? We must have discipline in our unions. The strike would not affect Boston alone. The whole working class is interested in all strikes." I grant you have the best of the argument so far as it goes. But here is the point:

"The rules of the Firemen's Union do not permit its members to go out on a sympathetic strike. This means, of course, that the firemen will remain at work anyway." Could anyone ex-

pect a strike to succeed under these circumstances?

The following clipping is from the Post of July 30th:

"Ferry Strike Has Collapsed.

That the strike of the ferryboat engineers has collapsed was indicated yesterday by six of the 11 engineers, who left their work, applying for reinstatement in their old positions.

Only one of the six was taken back, and this was because of his previous good record. The refusal of the union firemen to go out on a sympathetic strike with the engineers caused the engineers' struggle to become practically hopeless. Yesterday the ferryboats were operated as usual. The same crew of engineers that had taken the places of the strikers reported for work."

As I have said before, it is up to the members of the I. W. W. to give us a strong, bona fide organization of labor. Let all factions cut out their petty wrangling over non-essentials and unite at the coming convention. Give to the capitalist class the lie when they say, "The Socialist Shout Workers of the World Unite" and no two Socialists can agree upon anyone topic.

I await with an Impatience the deliberations of the I. W. W. at its next convention.

Yours for Working Class Unity,  
FRANCIS A. WALSH,  
July 30.  
Lynn, Mass.

## A SAMPLE OF CRAFT UNIONISM.

"Le Temps Nouveaux" published in Paris, France, contains in its last issue a brief note on the convention of representatives of glass workers' unions of all countries, held on August 28th in Paris, for the purpose of forming an international alliance. The invitation was also extended to the six "National Unions" of glass workers in the United States. All of them refused to participate in such an international congress and the "Fachgenosse," organ of the glass workers of continental Europe, informs the workers that the "Green Glass Blowers' National Union," affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has adopted, in its convention held in 1907, a resolution demanding the enactment of laws for the exclusion of "foreign born glass workers," and the initiation fee for glass blowers coming to America from other countries was raised from \$500 (five hundred) Dollars to one thousand (1,000) Dollars, while the initiation fee for native glass workers remains as heretofore \$500 (five hundred) "Dollars."

The Fachgenosse asks whether the A. F. of L. is a labor organization. There are others in Europe asking the same question! And there are thousands in America who say and know that the A. F. of L. is an adjunct to the capitalist class, and is not an economic organization of the workers; and it is only to be cheered that working class organizations abroad are beginning to see it that way also.

## AN APPEAL TO THE EARNEST.

Fellow Workers, whenever we make an appeal, no matter for what purpose, it is not because we mean to imply that you are not aware of your duty towards the I. W. W. Oh, no, we know full well that it is not so. But we also know that in this terrible struggle for existence, confronting you as a wage worker at all times in capitalist society you are apt to forget that the I. W. W. needs all the financial support that can possibly be given at this time of industrial depression, the main obstacle in making the progress we desire and should make.

The workers have been aroused as never before to the absolute need of a revolutionary industrial union. The general agitation that has been carried on for the I. W. W. has reached the point where it should and must be followed up by systematic organizing work, or all this preparatory work will count for naught. Shall all this time, money and energy be lost? We must strike the iron as long it is hot.

Again we declare and insist that the agitation must be followed up by organizing the workers into bona fide industrial unions, imbued with a spirit of revolt against the prevailing system of wage slavery, to be manifested in a desire to play the aggressor in the struggles with the labor skinner whenever there is a chance of winning.

We must resist with all the forces at our command, any contemplated lowering of our standard of living. No watching and waiting for the supposedly dual battle to bring the millennium all at once, but be always on the alert, ever prepared to meet the exploiters on the economic battle field through an Industrial Organization of the Working-class, without affiliation with any political party.

To this end we need the coin to send out organizers, to print more literature and to put the Bulletin again into the field as a weekly educator.

Many times before the call for funds went out, emanating from working men's organizations for various purposes, and nobly have you responded to the call. Remember the work that is before us, remember the need of the hour. Another round is about to be

fought with the merciless labor squeezer of this land, we must be prepared.

We have sounded the call for action, will you respond now as you have done in the past? Answer without delay.

Fellow Worker John Campbell of Johannesburg, South Africa, writes that he will make good use of the I. W. W. literature sent to him few weeks ago. There are many barges in this land where the workers could stand a little more clear-cut enlightenment regarding the I. W. W. Read over our list and select the most appropriate literature for distribution in your locality, to be followed up by real organizing work. Agitation, unless followed up by constructive organizing, is like taking a pledge and let 'er go at that. (By constructive organizing we mean, in short, the grouping of workers into unions of their respective industries in which they are employed, the time of the meetings to be taken up with live issues concerning the growth of the local and matters that will redound to the material benefit of its membership. The rounding up of workers employed in various lines of work into a mixed local discussing at all times questions of a theoretical nature, never doing anything which resolves itself into something more tangible than the passing of resolutions, we consider not organizing, but forming rag-chewing clubs, serving no practical purpose.)

## A CONTINUATION.

Fellow-worker:—In your reply of Aug. 14, 1908, to the inquiries of Pioneer Local No. 8, I. W. W., as to Hand Book No. 2, bearing craft union emblem, says: "Since the author of the book has given them the unconditional right to publish the Hand Book." This we understand means that in so doing Wm. E. Trautmann acted in his private capacity as author, thinking—to use his own words, "that information on the I. W. W. could be given to workers whom the organization could not reach any other way." To attempt to justify his actions in this matter because the publishing houses of either of the two Socialist political parties have a certain policy toward craft unions, will not answer, and to inject either of them into the present question will, we believe, tend more to cause confusion than to clear the point at issue. Fellow-worker Trautmann further says that because Hand Book No. 2 can be secured at comparatively low figures and also because the membership of the I. W. W. has not provided the funds necessary to have hand books printed, we will continue to fill orders of that Hand Book even though same bears the emblem of craft unionism.

We wish to say that it is not our intention to aggravate or irritate the men in official positions at General Headquarters, as we can realize the financial struggle and alertness necessary to combat the combined enemies of the workers. But in the most friendly spirit we wish to protest against Gen. Sec.-Treas. Wm. E. Trautmann and all other employees of the I. W. W. at General Headquarters, in using channels of the I. W. W. to circulate hand books, pamphlets or letters containing the craft union label.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,  
CHAS. ROGERS,  
J. C. SAUNDERS,  
Committee.

Pioneer Local No. 8, Kansas City, Mo., No. 1333 Walnut St.

A correction. Fellow Worker A. J. Francis should have been credited with 50 cents contribution to "Now or Never" in place of H. Dressner.

Fellow Worker Frank P. Janke, 458 North State Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind., desires a copy of the Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 46. Any one who can spare that number should send him same.

In spite of the fact that the I. U. B. is appearing as a semi-monthly in order to save expenses at the present time, it is gaining steadily in circulation and influence as a benefactor organ for Industrial Unionism. One swallow does not make a summer. Because there is one town on the map where some of our members are not hesitating for now judges is no criterion by which to judge the growth of our sub-list.

Prepaid sub-cards are sold every week, the new "subs" by far exceeding the expirations. Fellow Workers, continue the good work. More and ever more subscribers we want, not for our sake, nor for the sake of some holy Moses, but for your own sake get readers for the Bulletin.

## NOTICE.

Send all contributions for the Preston and Smith Defense Fund to Denver as per instructions on the leaflet.

NOTICE TO I. W. W. MEMBERS IN BUFFALO.

Local No. 517 (Polish local) moved into new headquarters, located at 1519 Broadway. Everybody is welcome.

## PROPOSITIONS TO CONVENTION.

By J. Jones.

Endorsed By Woodworkers' Industrial Union of New York City.

## ARTICLE I.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Industrial Workers of the World.

Sec. 2. It shall consist of two (2) branches—one a propaganda branch, the other an industrial branch.

Sec. 3. The industrial branch shall be composed of actual wage-workers, brought together in an organization embodying three Industrial Departments, Industrial Sub-Departments, Industrial Unions, Local Unions, Branches and Individual Members.

(a) A Department shall be based on one of the three natural monopolies and shall consist of three Sub-Departments.

(b) A Sub-Department shall be based on one of the three sub-divisions of a monopoly and shall consist of all Industrial Unions based on said sub-division.

(c) An Industrial Union shall be based on one of the least possible number of sub-divisions of a Sub-Department and shall consist of all Local Unions based on said sub-division.

(d) Local Unions shall be based on one of the least possible number of sub-divisions of a Sub-Department and shall consist of all Branch Unions based on said sub-division, in a given locality.

(e) Branch Unions shall be composed of all the actual wage-workers in a given shop or corporation, in a given locality.

(f) Individual members shall be the employees of the organization.

Sec. 4. The Industrial Departments and sub-divisions shall have complete industrial autonomy in the respective internal affairs, provided the general executive board shall have the power to control in matters concerning the interests of the general organization.

Sec. 5. (a) The Industrial Departments shall be designated as follows:

Department No. 1. Agriculture.  
Department No. 2. Transportation.  
Department No. 3. Mining.

(b) The Sub-Departments shall be designated as follows:

Dept. No. 1. Sub-Department No. 1. Forestry.  
Dept. No. 1. Sub-Department No. 2. General Farming.  
Dept. No. 1. Sub-Department No. 3. Stock Farming.  
Dept. No. 2. Sub-Department No. 1. Land.  
Dept. No. 2. Sub-Department No. 2. Water.  
Dept. No. 2. Sub-Department No. 3. Air.  
Dept. No. 3. Sub-Department No. 1. Clay, Salt and Stone.  
Dept. No. 3. Sub-Department No. 2. Coal and Oil.  
Dept. No. 3. Sub-Department No. 3. Metal.

(c) The Industrial Unions shall be designated on the following plan:

Dept. No. 1. Sub-Dept. No. 1. Industrial Union No. 1. Foresters.  
Dept. No. 1. Sub-Dept. No. 1. Industrial Union No. 2. Lumber Jacks.  
Dept. No. 1. Sub-Dept. No. 1. Industrial Union No. 3. Saw Mill Workers.  
Dept. No. 1. Sub-Dept. No. 1. Industrial Union No. 4. Furniture Workers.  
Dept. No. 1. Sub-Dept. No. 1. Industrial Union No. 5. Piano Workers.  
Dept. No. 1. Sub-Dept. No. 1. Industrial Union No. 6. Mill Work Workers.

## ARTICLE I.

Section 1. The propaganda branch of the I. W. W. shall be composed of all persons who subscribe to the principles and abide by the constitution of the I. W. W., brought together in an organization embodying leagues, branches and individual members.

(a) Individual members shall be those persons who in isolated positions desire to attach themselves to the I. W. W. until such a time as a body of the I. W. W. to which they are eligible shall be organized in their locality.

(b) A branch shall be a sub-division of a league when such a sub-division is found necessary through language or territorial difficulties.

(c) A league shall be composed of all persons who subscribe to the principles and abide by the constitution of the I. W. W. within a given locality.

Sec. 2. The league or branches shall consist of a membership of ten persons and shall have complete autonomy in their respective internal affairs provided the general executive board of the I. W. W. shall have power to control the leagues and branches in matters pertaining to the general welfare.

TO THE GENERAL SECRETARIES OF THE I. W. W.

Since coming to New York, I have had an abundance of leisure and have tried to make it of use to the organization by writing a pamphlet, the purpose of which was to show the part that bookkeeping played in the evolution of the industries and how the Industrial Workers of the World system of organization was so built that it could finally evolve into the industrial commonwealth.

In looking up data for it I was confronted with the fact that the I. W. W.

form of organization did not tally with the facts.

I found that the A. F. of L. had been organized on the ability of certain men to handle certain tools, for instance "The International Association of Machinists" and that this form of organization cut up a capitalist industrial unit into innumerable parts.

I found that the I. W. W. had been organized on the ability of certain men to do a certain class of work, for instance "The Mining Department of the I. W. W.," and that this form of organization cut a capitalist industrial unit into departments.

I found that these two forms of organization were a travesty on a capitalist industrial unit.

I found that the "Steel Trust," the highest type of capitalist industry, in its course of evolution had to monopolize the source of its raw material.

This is the key to the whole proposition.

A trust or industry is not secure unless it controls the source of its raw material, and if it wants to retain all the benefits of that control, it must also control all the sources of materials used in finishing its product and all the steps of manufacture, until the final one of distribution or sale of that product.

The "Steel Trust" or "Standard Oil" system in its course of evolution tends to the control of all the natural resources of the earth, and we, looking forward to the industrial commonwealth, must build our organization on facts, not on fancies.

Therefore, I have worked out the enclosed amendments to the constitution, with the explanations which I deem necessary.

In regard to Sec. 2, Article 1, the preamble states, "the POLITICAL as well as on the INDUSTRIAL field and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an ECONOMIC organization." Others have intimated that only a political party was secure in carrying on propaganda. Others that a political economic organization is the industrially organized working class "looking forward to the overthrow of capitalism."

Now when you look at the Industries of capitalism, they are not its economic organization.

When you look at the political organization of capitalism, it is not its economic organization.

The political is its propaganda branch. The industries are its industrial branch.

The two together make up its economic organization.

An order leaves 26 Broadway to the propaganda and industrial branch and their united strength is hurled at a rival.

So in line with this we must of necessity adopt this section.

Yours for industrial freedom NOW,  
J. A. JONES.

## FROM L. U. NO. 419, RED-LANDS, CAL.

At regular business meeting of Aug. 30, 1908, held by Local No. 419, I. W. W., Redlands, Cal., it was moved, seconded and carried that we recommend the following for the consideration of the Fourth Annual Convention of the I. W. W., which convenes on Sept. 21, 1908, to-wit: That the membership of Industrial Dept's be cut down from 10,000 to 5,000, at least, at this time, and that the I. W. W. now proceed to organize a Mining Dept. of the I. W. W., and for this reason, that, seeing that the W. F. of M. has gone on record as opposed to the I. W. W., and plainly shows it is lost to the industrial movement, and, moreover, seeing that there are some 3,000 or more revolutionists in the W. F. of M. who would doubtless willingly rally to the I. W. W. whenever the call should come to them, we should give these revolutionary miners in the W. F. of M. a chance to take their logical place within our industrial ranks.

H. S. CARROLL,  
Financial Secretary.

## CONVENTION NOTES.

Next issue of the I. U. B. will contain a full and detailed report of convention proceedings. Order in advance a sufficient number of Bulletins for the members of your local. \$1.00 for a bundle of 100.

Another feature of the Bulletin will be the second chapter of the "Overall Brigade's trip on the I. W. W. Red Special, across the continent."

The advance guard of the Pacific Coast delegation has arrived. All young fellows, full of vim, vigor and enthusiasm for the I. W. W. While in the windy city the boys will hold street meetings every evening. You'll not there will be a hot time in the old town for many a night.

The "take and hold" provision of the I. W. W. Preamble pledges the industrialist to practical socialism, while its constitution forms the structural force of the industrial democracy that is going to control the economic conditions of the future.—Daily People.

**Pasadena, Cal., June 8, 1908.**

### The Mission of the Toilers.

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